

INCOMING TELEGRAM

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Department of State

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Action

Control: 1-794

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Rec'd: AUGUST 16, 1961

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Info

3:15 PM

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FROM: LONDON

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TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 701, 2 AUG 16, 4 PM

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SB

ACT ON DEPARTMENT 701, INFORMATION PARIS 142, BONN 43. BERLIN
17. MOSCOW 28.

SO

PARIS FOR EMBASSY USRO AND STOESSEL

SA

DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 747

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IN CONSIDERING WHAT ACTION WE SHOULD TAKE IN PRESENT
BERLIN CRISIS, I FEEL WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE AS FUNDAMENTAL
POINT THAT WHILE GDR BEHAVIOR IS BRUTAL, INFLAMMATORY,
AND IN VIOLATION OF BERLIN AGREEMENTS, IT HAS NOT YET
VITALLY AFFECTED WEST'S POSITION IN BERLIN OR SECURITY OF
WEST BERLINERS. AS SOME HAVE SUGGESTED, IT MAY BE IN
NATURE OF PROBE OF WEST'S WILL AND NERVE, AND IF NOT
VIGOROUSLY COUNTERED, COULD LEAD TO FURTHER ENCROACHMENTS.
I TEND, HOWEVER, TO SHARE AMBASSADOR DOWLING'S VIEW THAT
PRINCIPAL MOTIVE FOR GDR ACTION WAS DESIRE TO STEM
REFUGEE FLOW, AND DOUBT IF OTHER MOVES AGAINST ACCESS
ARE SCHEDULED FOR EARLY IMPLEMENTATION.

IF THIS ANALYSIS IS CORRECT, I FEEL WE SHOULD RESIST
PRESSURES FOR EXTREME COUNTERMEASURES AS DEMONSTRATION
OF SYMPATHY FOR PLIGHT OF EAST GERMANS. WE CAN SHOW
SYMPATHY IN OTHER WAYS, FOR EXAMPLE, THROUGH VIGOROUS
PROTESTS AND FULLEST PROPAGANDA EXPLOITATION OF THE
INHUMANITY AND ILLEGALITY OF SOVBLOC ACTIONS.

WHILE WE MUST NOT BY OUR ACTIONS ENCOURAGE SOVIETS TO
DOUBT OUR FIRMNESS OF PURPOSE OR GERMANS TO DESPAIR OF
IT, WE

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NAME OF OFFICER & OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE OF ACTION	

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752-00/8-1551

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TO: TTD, AUGUST 16, 4 PM FROM LONDON

, WE CANNOT AFFORD TO EXPEND OUR MEAGER STORE OF
INTERMEASURES PREMATURELY, NOR SHOULD WE TAKE STEPS
THAT MIGHT BRING ABOUT REPRISALS AGAINST OUR ACCESS
ENCOURAGE A POPULAR REVOLT -- DEVELOPMENTS WHICH I
JUNE ARE IN OUR INTEREST TO AVOID.

LOOKING AT THE MEASURES MENTIONED IN DEPTEL 747 WITH THIS
FRAMEWORK, I FEEL THAT MOST ARE NOT APPLICABLE TO PRESENT
SITUATION. THEY ARE EITHER TOO EXTREME (E.G. TRADE EMBARGO),
NOT SUFFICIENTLY RELEVANT (E.G. SCRAPPING OF CULTURAL EXCHANGES
UND US-SOV AIR AGREEMENT), LIKELY TO EVOKE UNDESIRABLE
COUNTER-ACTION (E.G. TTD BAN) OR INCAPABLE OF BEING APPLIED
UNIVERSALLY (E.G. LEIPZIG FAIR BOYCOTT, BAN ON WESTERN
RAVEL TO GDR).

A WESTERN INITIATIVE CONFINED TO PROTEST WILL NOT OF
COURSE SATISFY THOSE WHO CLAMOR FOR BOLDER ACTION.
PROTEST DEVICE IS NOW ADMITTEDLY A SERIOUSLY DEPRECIATED
CURRENCY IN CONVINCING PUBLIC AND OTHER SIDE OF SERIOUSNESS
OF WESTERN PURPOSE. IF, HOWEVER, WE SHOULD FOCUS SPOTLIGHT
ON INHUMANITY OF SOVBLOC ACTION, EFFECT GENERALLY,
AND PARTICULARLY ON UNCOMMITTED AREAS, MAY WELL BE
CONSIDERABLE. I CANNOT BELIEVE THAT THE PEOPLES OF
AFRICA ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA WOULD NOT BE MOVED BY
SPECTACLE OF EAST BERLINERS BEING PENNED IN BY RING OF
TANKS AND ARMED SENTRYES,

IN SUM I THINK THIS IS THE TIME FOR VIGOROUS WESTERN
PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY IN ADVANCE OF THE CONVOCATION OF A
FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE.

BRUCE

HC/23

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DECEMBER 1970